

INSTITUTE OF CURRENT WORLD AFFAIRS

PBM - 7
Federal Party

42 Fereday Drive
Eastlea,
Salisbury,
Southern Rhodesia
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Mr. Walter S. Rogers
c/o Institute of Current World Affairs
522 Fifth Avenue
New York 36, New York

Dear Mr. Rogers:

Since I wrote last, two things have happened which help fill the federal election campaign picture and give a clearer view of the starting lineups for the big game, at least as far as policies and platforms of the two major parties are concerned.

The Federal Party, much against the wishes of its leader, Sir Godfrey Huggins, has released a "definition of partnership" between the white and black races under federation. And the full (or almost so) statement of aims and principles of the party has been published. The stage has been set for the struggle, which promises to be fought along much the same lines as the federation campaign.

Confederate Party hopes have risen (although not as much as the Confederates think they have) because of the recent demonstrations by members of the Nguru tribe in the Cholo District of Nyasaland. Confederates are going about with an "I told you so" look on their faces and are placing the blame on the claim that the Nguru were given too much Democracy in one helping, with resultant indigestion. I will be making a trip around the federation in a few weeks, and will report more about the Nguru trouble when I reach Nyasaland.

With much beating of drums and amazing organization, the Federal Party held its inaugural congress on August 7 and 8 in Sephardic Hall, on Jameson Avenue here, about two blocks from the scene of the Confederate Congress a fortnight before. But, aside from proximity, there was no comparison between the physical setup of the two meetings.

Sephardic Hall is a fine, modern assembly hall about four times the size of the Confederates' meeting place. The stage is well laid out, the floors gleam with careful polishing, and there are rooms which can be set aside for conferences, caucuses and the press. When Julie and I walked in it was immediately apparent that this was a much more fashionable event than the Confederate congress.

Neat business suits and efficient briefcases were everywhere. A sort of garden party atmosphere prevailed with much small talk and lively conversation rising from groups scattered among the comfortable chairs at long tables set up across the room. Groups of tables were reserved for delegates from each of the three territories and neat piles of pamphlets, mimeographed programs and note paper were piled in front of each seat. There were 105 delegates from Southern Rhodesia, 28 from Northern Rhodesia and 15 from Nyasaland.

The press table was much more commodious than that at the Confederate Congress, but it was jammed to overflowing and journalists from as far away as Germany were busy whittling pencils with borrowed penknives.

Most of the delegates had met before since the party is made up of the strong United Party (majority party in Southern Rhodesia), the Rhodesia Party (official opposition party in Southern Rhodesia), segments of the Rhodesia Labour Party and those who supported federation in Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland. The leaders of the party were not hard to identify. Sitting at a table on the stage of the hall were Sir Godfrey Huggins (Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia), Sir Roy Welensky (leader of the Northern Rhodesia legislature), Sir Malcolm Barrow (Governor of Nyasaland), and several members of Sir Godfrey's cabinet in Southern Rhodesia. There was no need, as there was at the Confederate congress, for reporters to nudge one another and ask "who's that?" when a speaker stood up.

The Confederate Party was very much on everyone's mind as the meeting opened. Sir Godfrey's first remarks seemed to set the tone for everything that followed--and he could not keep the question of race and a Federal Party native policy out of his off-the-cuff speech.

He said: "The party is now committed to an ordinary political scrap at the federal elections. At first it was hoped by the party that this would not be necessary.

"I have been taken to task for saying that native affairs are out of the realm of the federal policy, but this is largely true. There are, however, a certain number of subjects connected with African affairs which will be dealt with by the Federal Parliament. They include: higher education, employment in the federal service, the use of African troops in connection with defence and old-age pensions.

"The division of the three federal territories into black and white areas¹ has been killed at the outset and neither the British Government nor Northern Rhodesia will have anything to do with it. It now has no part in the agreement (and) it is not really a federal subject.

"In Southern Rhodesia it will be dealt with by the Land Apportionment Act, which was originally instituted to placate the Africans. In Northern Rhodesia and Nyasaland there are Orders-in-Council dealing with the subject."²

Concerning the multi-racial university, Sir Godfrey said, "Purely African colleges in South Africa and other parts of the Commonwealth are merely forcing houses of anti-British sentiment. We must get around that if we are to have peaceful settlement in the federation.

Sir Roy Welensky, after asking the British Labour Party to stop fighting the federation, went on to discuss partnership. "I see no difficulty in defining the partnership I have in mind. This already exists in Central Africa. The white man has presented 80 per cent of the capital in the form of his initiative and cash. The African has contributed 20 per cent of the assets.

"Talk of social partnership is nothing but a red herring. There is no such thing as social equality, as I know it."

1. As the Confederates propose in their policy. See PBM - 6.
2. More about the Land Apportionment Act later.

Of political partnership, Sir Roy said, "The African's future depends on his ability to prove himself. I consider that political progress without economic development is a myth."

"I have had considerable experience of the African in parliamentary life in my own Legislative Council. As far as I'm concerned, if that is an example of what African representation means, the direct African representation is a failure."

"I am firmly convinced that in any form of political partnership we have got to accept the principle that it cannot remain static. We ought to make it very clear that the difference between our policy and the policy of other parts of Africa is that here the African always has the opportunity to rise if he is capable of doing so."

"The mere fact that I happen to be pro-European does not mean by any stretch of the imagination that I am anti-African. I am not."

Sir Malcolm Barrow then got on his hind feet and said that the two previous speakers had left him very little to talk about. He went on to say he had hoped that party politics would not be introduced in Nyasaland so soon, but that was not to be. "I hope that all those in Nyasaland who have been in favor of this federation will find it possible to support the Federal Party," he said.

Conscious of the Confederates' native policy, he added, "I do not believe that anyone in Nyasaland who has been in favor of federation would for one moment have contemplated it if they had thought there was the slightest possibility of creating within the federal state white territories and black. One of the reasons that we have supported the federal proposals is that we believe that that would be fatal to the future of Nyasaland."

After a burst of applause, the congress got down to business--the approval of a constitution, and, following that, the discussion of aims and principles.

Details of the makeup of the party droned on until the clause, which stated simply that the party would take part in federal elections, was reached. The announcement that the Confederate Party has decided to contest both federal and territorial elections has raised a storm among Federal Party members who had already taken it for granted that politics in the two spheres would be separate (Besides, the Federal Party is already well represented, at least in Southern Rhodesia, by the United Party and the Rhodesia Party).

Debate came thick and fast. Sir Roy summed up the feeling of the meeting when he said it would be unfair to people who supported the views of the Federal Party not to enter the field of territorial politics as well.

"I am not in favor of the party taking part in territorial politics, but as another party is doing this, we should do the same," he said.

The chairman of the congress, J. M. Greenfield (Southern Rhodesia Minister of Internal Affairs), said that it would save expense and extra organization if the Federal Party did operate in the territories. Alternatively, he said, the matter could be left to the divisional committees, who could decide whether

they wished the party to take part in the politics of their particular territory.

A show of hands was taken and a committee was formed to draw up and consider the amendment to the constitution permitting local branches to enter territorial politics if they felt it necessary.

The discussion of the constitution went on until tea time, 11 a.m. Then, following a very good tea, the congress reconvened to consider their principles and aims, the most important single item in the make-up of a Central African political group.

For purposes of comparison, I recommend that you study these provisions side by side with those of the Confederate Party, set out in PBM - 6. It will be fairly easy to find the clauses that deal with the same subject.

The method I will use is the same I used in the letter on the Confederate Party. On the left, below, I will quote the clause exactly as it was presented to the congress. On the right, below, I will quote the clause exactly as it has appeared in the form approved by the committee and released to the public. The paragraphs enclosed by parentheses and extending across the page are my comments on the debate that took place and some of the whys and wherefores of a few clauses as presented to me in conversation with Sir Godfrey.

FEDERAL PARTY POLICY

PRINCIPLES

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. To build a strong and prosperous state which will be a bulwark of the Commonwealth in Central Africa, imbued with British traditions of justice, freedom, and loyalty to the crown. | 1. Approved in original form. |
| 2. To serve the interests of all the lawful inhabitants of the Federation, to foster good relations between the various races and to promote their common welfare. | 2. Approved in original form. |
| 3. (This clause did not appear in the original draft policy.) | 3. To preserve the fundamental rights of the individual throughout the Federal States, with freedom of speech, freedom of assembly within the law, freedom of the Press, and freedom of Worship. |
| 4. (This appeared in the original draft policy as clause 3) To support loyally the federal constitution, while working for full membership of the Commonwealth in the shortest possible time. | 4. Approved in original form. |

5. To foster and develop friendly relations with adjoining territories and to co-operate in matters of mutual interest. 5. Approved in original form.

6. To keep open the possibility of other and adjoining territories becoming part of the federation. 6. Approved in original form.

(The original clause 6 read "To maintain as a Party a federal outlook and avoid interference in purely territorial politics." This was eliminated by the amendment to the constitution permitting the party to enter territorial politics where necessary.)

7. To support the principle that the future of the federal states lies in the hands of the representatives of its inhabitants. 7. To ensure that the future of the federal states lies in the hands of the representatives of its inhabitants.

8. To maintain and encourage private enterprise, but to call in State enterprise or aid where the national interest so demands. 8. Approved in original form.

9. To maintain the use of English as the only official language of the Federation. 9. Approved in original form.

AIMS

DEVELOPMENT OF NATURAL RESOURCES.

10. To put into operation a vigorous programme of development throughout the Federation, designed to give full employment and prosperity to all its inhabitants, to provide for the absorption of its growing population, and to make full use of its vast natural resources. 10. Approved in original form.

IMMIGRATION. 11. To encourage planned and selective immigration at the greatest rate at which the European areas of the Federation can absorb them, in the belief that a large European population is essential to the progress, prosperity and happiness of all races. IMMIGRATION. 11. To encourage planned and selective immigration at the greatest rate at which the Federation can absorb immigrants, in the belief that a large European population is essential to the progress, prosperity and happiness of all races.

(In this clause and the following, it is interesting to compare the wording with that of the Immigration clause approved by the Confederate Party. The Confederate Party names names; the Federal Party merely makes a broad statement. It was noticeable at the Federal Party Congress that Asians were represented by two or three delegates. There were also Coloureds (Euro-Africans) and Natives.

This accounts for a lot of the generalness of the clauses in which the Confederates would have called Asians Asians and Natives Natives. There was no one who was not all white at the Confederate Party Congress. The words "European areas" smacked too much of the Confederate Party, so they were removed from the above clause. The meaning was not changed.)

12. To take such steps as may be necessary to prevent the entry into the Federation of peoples or individuals whose presence might be inimical to the economic, racial or political stability of the Federation.

12. Approved in original form.

13. (This clause did not appear in the original draft policy.)

13. To guard against Communism and other subversive activities within the Federation.

(The congress at this point began a discussion of communism, with and without a capital "C". A coloured delegate, Mr. G. Thornicroft, protested against the inclusion of a Communism clause. "We are suffering from fear of the unknown if we adopt such a resolution," he said. S. Samkange, an African (Native) delegate, said, "We should have a clause against Communism, but we should not advocate legislation against communism." After much discussion, the anti-Communists won a victory when they got the words "and other" inserted, indicating that the party believes that Communism in itself is subversive.)

14. To encourage the development of primary and secondary industries, especially those dependent on the Federation's products or considered necessary to its economy, in order to achieve a greater measure of self-sufficiency and a healthy trade balance through increased exports.

14. To encourage and protect where justified, the development of primary and secondary industries, especially those based on the Federation's products or considered necessary to its economy, in order to achieve a greater measure of self-sufficiency and a healthy trade balance through increased exports.

(There were several special industrial and agricultural interests represented; copper, coal, cotton, tobacco, asbestos, gold, chrome. They kept leaping to their feet claiming they were being discriminated against. "You promise to take care of cotton," a copper man would complain. "Why don't you take care of copper? Copper is just as important to the economy as cotton." These special interests debated long and loud to get the protection phrase inserted into the above clause and to get the entire next clause added in its present position.)

15. (This clause appeared in the original draft as clause 34) To encourage the growth of primary and secondary industries inter alia by taxation relief in respect of capital expenditure on factories, manufacturing machinery and plant, by assisting in finding export markets,

15. To encourage the growth of primary and secondary industries and trades by taxation relief in respect of capital expenditure, by assisting in finding export markets, by trade agreements with other countries and by protection against dumping or other unfair competition.

by trade agreements with neighboring territories, and by protection against dumping or other unfair competition from other countries.

16. (This clause did not appear in the original draft policy.)

COMMUNICATIONS. 17. To give high priority to the improvement and expansion of communications by rail, road, water and air, postal services and broadcasting, in order to keep ahead of the growing needs of the country and to provide for its anticipated development. To investigate the use of the Zambesi and other waterways as a means of transport and communication.

18. To strive for the acquisition of West and East Coast ports and rail links thereto, and with this end in view to enter into negotiations with the appropriate neighbouring territories.

POWER SUPPLIES. 19. To ensure an adequate supply of power for the maintenance and development of industry and agriculture, and to develop major schemes for hydro-electric power and irrigation.

(Some industrialists and farmers insisted that "major" be crossed out (although it appears in that form in the new federal constitution) so that small power and irrigation projects will not be forgotten.)

MINERALS. 20. To give such assistance to the territorial governments as may from time to time be necessary to encourage the development of or prospecting for mineral deposits with special reference to the production of coal and other fuels.

AGRICULTURE. 21. To achieve self-

16. To encourage the development of a large tourist trade.

COMMUNICATIONS. 17. To give high priority to the improvement and expansion of communications by rail, road and air, and postal services, in order to keep abreast of the growing needs of the country and to provide for its anticipated development.

18. Approved in original form.

POWER AND WATER SUPPLIES. 19. To ensure an adequate supply of power for the maintenance and development of industry and agriculture, and to develop schemes for hydro-electric power and irrigation.

MINERALS. 20. To give such assistance to the territorial governments as may from time to time be necessary to encourage the prospecting for and development of mineral deposits, and their ultimate disposal, with special reference to the production of minerals for export and of coal and other fuels including oil from coal, and to encourage measures for improved utilization of coal and recovery of economic by-products of coal.

AGRICULTURE. 21. To achieve self-

sufficiency, as far as possible, in regard to the food requirements of the Federation, and to this end to pay unremitting attention to the use of all available land, to soil and water conservation and to the scientific development of the natural resources of the area.

sufficiency in regard to the food requirements of the Federation, and to this end to pay unremitting attention to the use of all available land, to soil and water conservation, to research and to the scientific development of the natural resources of the area.

22. To endeavor to maintain a price structure which will be fair both to the producer and to the consumer.

22. Approved in original form.

23. To develop an adequate supply of raw materials, such as cotton and other industrial vegetable products, for the use of secondary industry.

23. To develop an adequate supply of raw materials for the use of secondary industry.

(It was at this point that other interests shouted down cotton.)

24. To encourage the fullest exploitation of the export market for tobacco and other agricultural products.

24. To encourage the fullest development of the export market for all suitable agricultural products.

(Tobacco was ruled out the same way.)

25. (This clause did not appear in the original draft policy.)

25. To give such assistance to the territorial governments as may from time to time be necessary to encourage the development of African agriculture.

(This is in line with the Federal Party policy of partnership; the Federals say they want to help the Native with his farming, the Confederates say let him go off in his own farming areas and if he wants help, let him ask us for it.)

EDUCATION. 26. To maintain and develop, within the sphere of education assigned to the Federal Government, the existing systems of primary and secondary education, including grants-in-aid to approved non-government schools and such assistance as may be necessary for parents whose children cannot attend day schools and who are unable to meet the full cost of boarding fees.

EDUCATION. 26. To improve and develop, within the sphere of education assigned to the Federal Government, the existing systems of primary and secondary education at a standard at least equivalent to that provided in Southern Rhodesia at present, with such assistance as may be necessary for parents whose children cannot attend day schools and who are unable to meet the full cost of boarding fees and travelling expenses.

27. To make such provision as may be necessary for the education and care of physically, mentally or socially deviate children.

27. Approved in original form.

28. To provide through bursaries, scholarships and other approved means for the continued education of selected students of all races at Universities and other centres of higher education within the Federation or beyond its borders.

28. To provide through bursaries, scholarships and other approved means for the continued education of selected students who are lawful inhabitants of the Federation at Universities and other centres of higher education within the Federation or beyond its borders.

29. To make grants-in-aid to approved centres of higher education and cultural institutions within the Federation and to those providing for students from the Federation, and also to make such grants for the purposes of research.

29. Approved in original form.

30. To establish as and when necessary trade, technical and specialist training schools other than universities, designed to assist the development of industry, commerce and agriculture, or to provide training for public services.

30. To establish technical, mining and specialist training schools other than universities, designed to assist the development of industry, commerce and agriculture, or to provide training for public services and the teaching profession; to establish as and when necessary trade schools.

HEALTH. 31. To develop the major health services in as far as they may fall within the Federal sphere, and to improve general and special hospital facilities throughout the area.

HEALTH. 31 & 32. Policy in regard to health is still under consideration and will be issued separately in the near future.

32. To encourage the growth or establishment of contributory health schemes, and where necessary to supplement them by Government funds so as to make available to everyone the best medical, dental, ophthalmic and hospital services.

(At the congress the health question, after being debated, was referred to the executive committee of the party for final decision. Apparently the problem is a knotty one, and no decision was reached. During the debate Southern Rhodesia's Minister of Finance, E. C. F. Whitehead, suggested that in any one year the first £30 or £50 of medical expenses be met by the individual. In cases of severe illness, where high expenses were run up, help could be given. It is probable that a scheme of this sort will be decided on eventually, considering the importance of its source.)

HOUSING. 33. To collaborate to the fullest possible extent with the territorial governments in the pro-

33. Approved in original form.

vision of funds for housing, including houses to rent, which although primarily a territorial responsibility is one of the most important factors affecting the growth and expansion of the Federal State.

DISABILITY AND OLD AGE PENSIONS. 34. 34. Approved in original form. To establish as examination shows its practicability a contributory scheme to cover disability and old age pensions.

DEFENCE. 35. To provide within available resources for the effective defence of the Federation and for rendering assistance to the Commonwealth in case of need. 35. Approved in original form.

FINANCE. 36. To encourage the flow of capital from Overseas and to promote practical projects of development which will produce in the Federation economic, social and political cooperation. FINANCE. 36. To encourage the flow of capital from all available sources and to promote practical projects of development which will produce in the Federation economic, social and political well-being.

37. To make financial provision which will ensure that the services essential for the development of the Federation and the welfare of the population can be provided. 37. Approved in original form.

38. To advocate the establishment at the earliest opportunity of a Federal Reserve Bank which will regulate the National Currency, foreign exchange and the credit structure of the Federation. 38. Approved in original form.

39. To combat inflation during a period of rapid expansion by correct monetary policy and the institution of such controls as may be necessary to check increases in the cost of living. 39. To combat inflation during a period of rapid expansion by correct monetary policy and the institution of such measures as may be necessary to check increases in the cost of living.

40. To cooperate with other countries in the sterling area in maintaining the purchasing value of the £. 40. Approved in original form.

NATIVE AFFAIRS.

41. This clause did not appear in the 41. To interpret (without prejudice

original draft policy. However, during the course of the congress Mr. G. F. M. van Eeden of Northern Rhodesia proposed the following: To interpret (in so far as race relations fall under federal jurisdiction) the reference to partnership and co-operation in the preamble to the federal scheme as including:--

(1) the desirability of conforming to a system that will enable white and black to live in harmony;

(2) the realisation that the European is the senior and the African the junior partner. That the latter requires to be guided by the former, and that each should be rewarded according to his contribution to the welfare of the community;

(3) the extension of political rights and privileges to those who conform to civilised standards of behaviour and culture;

(4) the recognition of the natural and traditional desire on the part of both races to remain socially separate and the fact that, where necessary, separate facilities, amenities and places of work must be provided;

(5) the acceptance of the principle that persons acquiring political rights can no longer enjoy special privileges, i.e., non-payment of income tax and other forms of protective legislation.

to the fact that Native Affairs are primarily a territorial responsibility) the reference to partnership and co-operation in the preamble to the Federal Scheme as including:--

(1) the desirability of conforming to a system that will enable European and African to live in harmony;

(2) the realisation that the European and the African have distinctive and complementary parts to play in the Federation, and that each should be rewarded according to his contribution to the partnership;

(3) the recognition of the natural desire on the part of each race to develop on traditional lines, and the need for bearing this in mind in the provision of facilities and amenities while the present wide differences exist in the cultural levels of the mass of the people;

(4) the gradual extension of political rights and privileges to those who conform to civilised standards of behaviour and culture, with a corresponding diminution in special political representation;

(5) the acceptance of the principle that persons acquiring political rights can no longer enjoy special privileges.

(When I talked to Sir Godfrey, he commented on this definition of partnership. "The Confederates baited the trap," he said, "and poor van Eeden took the bait." A great deal of the second day of the congress was taken up discussing the definition. It is Sir Godfrey's strong conviction that a definition of partnership should be left to the individual. "Partnership means different things to different men," he said. When, after much debate, he was called upon to address the meeting on his ideas of partnership definition, he parried the question deftly.

(Sir Godfrey is very deaf (although many of his opponents and his friends say that he is only as deaf as he wants to be). When he was called upon to speak on partnership, he stood up and asked to have the question repeated. "They want you to comment on a definition of partnership," Sir Roy, who was sitting next to the Prime Minister, said into his ear. A look of anger flashed across his face--then he said, very clearly and distinctly, "Since not one speaker has had the courtesy to come to the front of the room to speak into the microphone I have not heard one word of discussion and therefore cannot comment." He sat down amid a stunned silence.

(A week later, at the United Party congress at Bulawayo, he did comment on the race question. "To introduce national racial politics into this country will be the end of Southern Rhodesia and the end of our founder's dream," he said. "If the Confederates stand for the federal election all other parties should combine to fight them. If the Confederates get any footing here you will have established the same racial pattern as politics in the south--and they will be just as damaging. You will have started and condoned South African nationalist politics in Southern Rhodesia, which was rejected by Southern Rhodesia in 1923."

(By the time he made this comment, it was too late to keep the race question out of the election campaign. Van Eeden had seen to that. Like it or not, the Federal Party had to come up with some sort of definition of partnership. The debate ran back and forth across the congress. Sir Roy Welensky took up the cudgel in defence of van Eeden's definition. "We have got to produce a policy which can face the questioning of the electorate," he said.

(Garfield Todd, member of the Southern Rhodesia Parliament, said he did not agree with the second paragraph of van Eeden's proposal since it could not be said of all Africans that they are the junior partners. He agreed with the third paragraph, said it should be written into the party's policy somewhere, although the fifth paragraph should be thrown out. He proposed to substitute van Eeden's proposal by: "To maintain the principle of the common electoral roll based on such franchise qualifications as are deemed necessary to ensure that the government of the country is elected by educated and responsible citizens." His proposal was defeated.

(A. R. W. Stumbles, a Southern Rhodesia delegate, said, "We have got to be realistic. We have got to realize that in any of the three territories, on every political platform, we shall be asked, 'How do you define partnership?' Unless we come to a decision we will have 101 different definitions of 'partnership' used in 101 different meetings throughout the three territories. Partnership is a mythical, nebulous and indefinite term. People are entitled to a definition and we must make some definite, specific decision."

(Thornicroft, the Coloured delegate, asked that the question be left open and a basis for definition of partnership be considered by a later congress. "The desire to get this business settled is to make ourselves popular and get into power. We are following more or less the same lines as the Confederate Party."

(To add to the confusion, a Salisbury delegate, L. M. N. Hodson (also a member of the Southern Rhodesia Parliament) said he was in favor of paragraphs one, three and five of van Eeden's definition, but not of two and four. At this a few of the funnier newsmen snapped their pencil points and rolled their eyes heavenward as a sign that the congress was tumbling into chaos. But the debate continued, with Sir Godfrey sitting high above it all, apparently paying no attention to the scrap going on beneath him. He seemed to enjoy a joke whispered in his ear by Sir Roy.

(The debate, which became more and more confused by amendments, proposals, counter-proposals and counter-amendments, ended when it was moved, seconded and approved that a committee be set up to consider race relations and draw up a definition of partnership. The committee was made up of Sir Godfrey Huggins, J. M. Greenfield, R. S. Garfield Todd, S. Samkange (African delegate for Salisbury), Sir Roy Welensky, van Eeden and Sir Malcolm Barrow.

(The native policy this committee arrived at bears a striking similarity to van Eeden's original proposal, minus some of the nasty words.)

1. An attempt by the Rhodesia Party and the United Party to join forces failed this week when the Rhodesia Party said they could not accept the United Party's lack of a concrete Native Policy.

It is apparent that the difference between the two parties (Federal and Confederate) is summed up in the two words, Native Policy.

The heart of the Confederates' dual development lies in removal of non-Europeans from the common voters' roll and providing a separate group of states for Natives. The second part of that statement, the provision of separate states, is, in fact, already very much in effect under terms of the Land Apportionment Act of 1930 which was re-enacted in 1941 in Southern Rhodesia. According to that act, Southern Rhodesia is divided mainly into European and Native areas. No Native may occupy any land in the European areas, save for special purposes (as a labor force, for instance). No European, save for special purposes and in the interest of the African, may occupy land in the Native areas. Land apportionment in the two northern territories, which are still colonies administered from London, is on much the same basis under terms of Orders-in-Council issued by the Colonial Office.

So when I went to see the Prime Minister, Sir Godfrey Huggins, I was mainly interested in discussing the problem of the common voters' roll. Sir Godfrey has now resigned as Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia and has been named Prime Minister of the Federation by the Governor-General, Lord Llewellyn, who arrived a fortnight ago.

He has kept his old office, however, in a sunny corner of the three-storied, yellow stucco government buildings which line Jameson Avenue from Second to Third Streets.

He is a surprisingly small man, I found. I thought, after watching him on the platform at the congress, that he would be at least 6 feet tall. In reality he is about 5 feet 8 inches tall, inclined to hunch over at his desk. Before I went into his office, I was briefed by the Prime Minister's private secretary, a Mr. Nicholas. If Sir Godfrey has his hearing aid on, you will only have to yell at a moderate rate, he said. If he isn't wearing it, then you're going to have to sit as close to him as possible and yell at the top of your voice.

We went into the long office. At the end of the room, behind a large-sized desk covered with papers, blue-bound government publications, scissors, and other items of extreme industry, sat the Prime Minister. He did not look up as we came across the room. When we were close to the desk we saw he was not wearing his earphone. Nicholas was walking just behind me.

I must have jumped when Nicholas screamed at the top of his lungs, "THIS IS MR. MARTIN, THE INSTITUTE FELLOW FROM THE UNITED STATES," for the Prime Minister was laughing as he got up to shake hands.

"HOW DO YOU DO, SIR GODFREY," I shouted.

"Sit down, sit down," he said. "No, closer than that, I'm very deaf." Our chairs were about four feet apart when I first sat down. I moved my chair closer to his until our heads were about two feet apart. A fine talk this will be, I thought. Me screaming my head off and he not hearing a word.

"What are you doing here?" he asked. "Some sort of scholarship, isn't it?"

"YES SIR," I yelled. "I'M INTERESTED IN POLITICS."

"What's that?" he asked, cupping his hand behind his ear.

"POLITICS," I said, trying to pitch my voice higher and feeling very ridiculous. "I'M INTERESTED IN POLITICS."

"Oh yes, we all are right now. What do you want to know about them?"

"WELL, ARE YOU WORRIED THAT THE CONFEDERATES MAY GAIN A GREAT DEAL OF SUPPORT?" I expected him to say no. Almost every other Federal Party member I've talked to has laughed the Confederate Party off as a tiny group of negro-phobes without much hope of accomplishing anything.

"Yes," he said, "I am." At first I thought he had misunderstood my question. "They're going to draw a lot more votes than people think. The little laboring people who are worried about losing their jobs to natives will vote for them. The 'old Rhodesians' who say, 'we've kept the blacks under control in the past and we can do it in the future' will vote for them. The Afrikaners who have come up here with nationalism in their blood will vote for them. And a lot of people who voted for federation but who think I've lost my mind will vote for them. What they say in their policy has a wide appeal. Of course, even I know that the Natives aren't ready for any large voice in the government. I've talked to a lot of these Native leaders. Most of them want everything they can get without having to contribute anything. But there are a few--Savanhu and Vambe and that Samtange fellow or whatever his name is--"

"SAMKANGE?" I bellowed.

"Yes, Samkange. Well, they don't agree with me, naturally. But they do have the good sense to admit that there is something to be said for my side. I consider that a great advancement." I could see now that Sir Godfrey was doing his best to help me out by taking the theme of my question and developing it at fairly great length. This helped to keep my shouting to a minimum.

"Of course, we can't forget the less cooperative Natives. But with the right kind of treatment in the next few years, we may even bring a few of them around to see that there is a little to what we have to say." He laughed and looked at me over the rims of his glasses as if to say, "Follow me?"

"HOW ABOUT THE COMMON VOTERS' ROLL?" I howled. "WHAT DO YOU THINK OF THE CONFEDERATES' DISLIKE OF IT?" By the puzzled look on Sir Godfrey's face, I knew he hadn't heard me clearly. I was about to yell again, but he began to answer. Apparently he had heard the part about the Common Voters' Roll.

"They asked me about that in London," he said. "They asked me, just as the Confederates do, about this business of the Natives outvoting the whites. I told them that as long as the Natives use their votes in the right way, and take part in our political system, it will be all right. But if they start an African Nationalist Party and begin to act as if they're going to be obstructive,

that's the time to figure out what to do about the voters' roll."

"Of course, you have to realize that these Natives were savages only a short time ago." This story I've heard so often that I was about to interrupt, but the Prime Minister seemed intent on talking. "Why, we had our last human sacrifice in Southern Rhodesia only about 22 years ago. Some chief killed his son because it hadn't rained in a long while or something like that. Why, only a little while ago I was giving a talk to a group of these native leaders. 'Look at you,' I said. 'You're parsons and clerks and you wear nice clothes and shoes. You can read and write and your life is better than it ever has been. Where were you 40 years ago? Just how fast do you think you want to go?' They roared with laughter." He turned and looked at me and I knew he was through for a minute. It was my turn to give him something else to talk about.

"HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT THIS DEFINITION OF PARTNERSHIP THAT'S JUST BEEN RELEASED?" Apparently he was becoming more accustomed to my accent, for there was no hesitation this time.

"It's a mistake to try and define it," he said. "The Confederates baited the trap and poor van Eeden took the bait. It's up to the individual to think out his own definition. I think the policy we came up with is all right, though. When you come right down to it, the definition doesn't really say much. As our opponents complain, it can mean everything and anything. The person who reads the definition is still left with the choice of defining it and deciding on his own interpretation."

The Prime Minister was interested that someone from the "outside world," as he put it, was interested enough in Central Africa to come and find out about it. We talked about the ignorance of the whys and wherefores of the federation that exists in England and the United States.

"Come and see me again," he said. "Maybe next time we'll talk about something for publication." That was the signal for me to collect my strained vocal cords, thank him, and make an exit. We shook hands and I noticed that the end of his middle finger, right hand, was missing. It only served to make him more interesting. I wondered how it went. Scalpel? Native knife? Or just a boyhood accident with a hatchet?

I looked back before I closed his office door. He was back at work, scratching busily with his pen. Outside, in the ante-room, his next appointment was being briefed by the secretary. In addition to becoming Prime Minister of the Federation, he has also taken the portfolios of Minister of Finance, Minister of External Affairs and Minister of Defense. He has named Sir Malcolm Barrow Minister of Internal Affairs and Sir Roy Welensky as Minister of Transport and Development.

The next step in preparing for the federal elections is the drawing up of boundaries of districts to be represented in the Federal Parliament. Sir Malcolm, as Minister of Internal Affairs, is in charge of this. The job should be finished by the middle of next month and the parties will then begin to nominate candidates. By the middle of November, when Julie and I will return from our motor trip around the federation, the election campaign should

be in full swing.

Dozens of people have commented that politics in this part of the world is a matter of personalities. One votes for a candidate because he likes the candidate as a person. If that is true, the Federal Party should win an overwhelming majority, for its leaders are men who have been returned to office time and again in their respective territories.

This election, being fought so vigorously already by the Confederate Party along Party and racial lines, may bring a change. The Prime Minister thinks so, if no one else does.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Peter Bird Martin".

Peter Bird Martin

Received New York 9/24/53.